"2. Family, relationship, etc.

Father, apáru.
Mother, nukúa, nukúru.
Son, uchi.
Daughter, nauánda.
Brother's brother, yatsúru.
Sister's brother, umáru.
Brother's sister, umáru.
Sister's sister, kaéru.
Father's brother, apáru (=father).
Mother's brother, ichiru.
Father's sister, nukúa (=mother).
Brother-in-law, (a man to his sister's husband) seiru.
Brother-in-law, (a woman to her sister's husband), umáru (=brother).
Sister-in-law (a man to his wife's sister), umáru (=sister).
Sister-in-law (a woman to her brother's wife), yuáru.
Two men married to two sisters call each other: umbātima.
The wives of two brothers call each other: kaéru (=sister).
Father-in-law, whéaru.

Mother-in-law, tsátsaru.
Son-in-law, awéru.
Daughter-in-law, nauánda (= daughter).
Stepson, chikichi úchi.
First cousin, yatsúru, umáru (= brother, sister).
Forefathers, apáchiru.
Sucking babe, uchichi. [563]
People, eintsu.
Family, winya eintsu (= my own people).
Man, aishmangu.
Woman, noa.
Boy, uchi.
Girl, nauánda.
Old man, ashánda, unta.
Old woman, ashánda.
Youth, yamátskama.
Husband, aishiru.
Wife, winya noa.
Christian (white man), apachi.

Indian (Jibaro), shuāra.
Chief, kapitu (Sp.), unta (= old man).
Medicine-man, sorcerer, wishinyu.
Priest, (old man who assists at the feasts), whuéa.
Host, heindinyu.
Guest, irára.
Friend, amichi (Sp.).
Enemy, (winya) shuara.
Killer (warrior), mangértoama.
Single man, nātsa, (= noa tsa, 'without woman').
Widow, widower, wáhe."

The system of notation is that recommended by the Institute of Ethnology. (1) [334]

French-Jívaro or Šuor Vocabulary

...[all except kinship terms omitted]

father	apāro
mother	nokūro
son	kuciri
daughter	nawandri
brother	yaţura
uncle	iči
aunt	nūkua
father-in-law	liči or iči
mother-in-law	nūkua
brother-in-law	sa'i
sister-in-law	ue iri
son-in-law	aue (uncertain)
daughter-in-law	nūati (")

1. As regards the letter k, it should be read k' as in 'car' and k as in 'cour.'

6: Flornoy-333-334
116, 192, 601

(1936) 1937

Jivaro-2

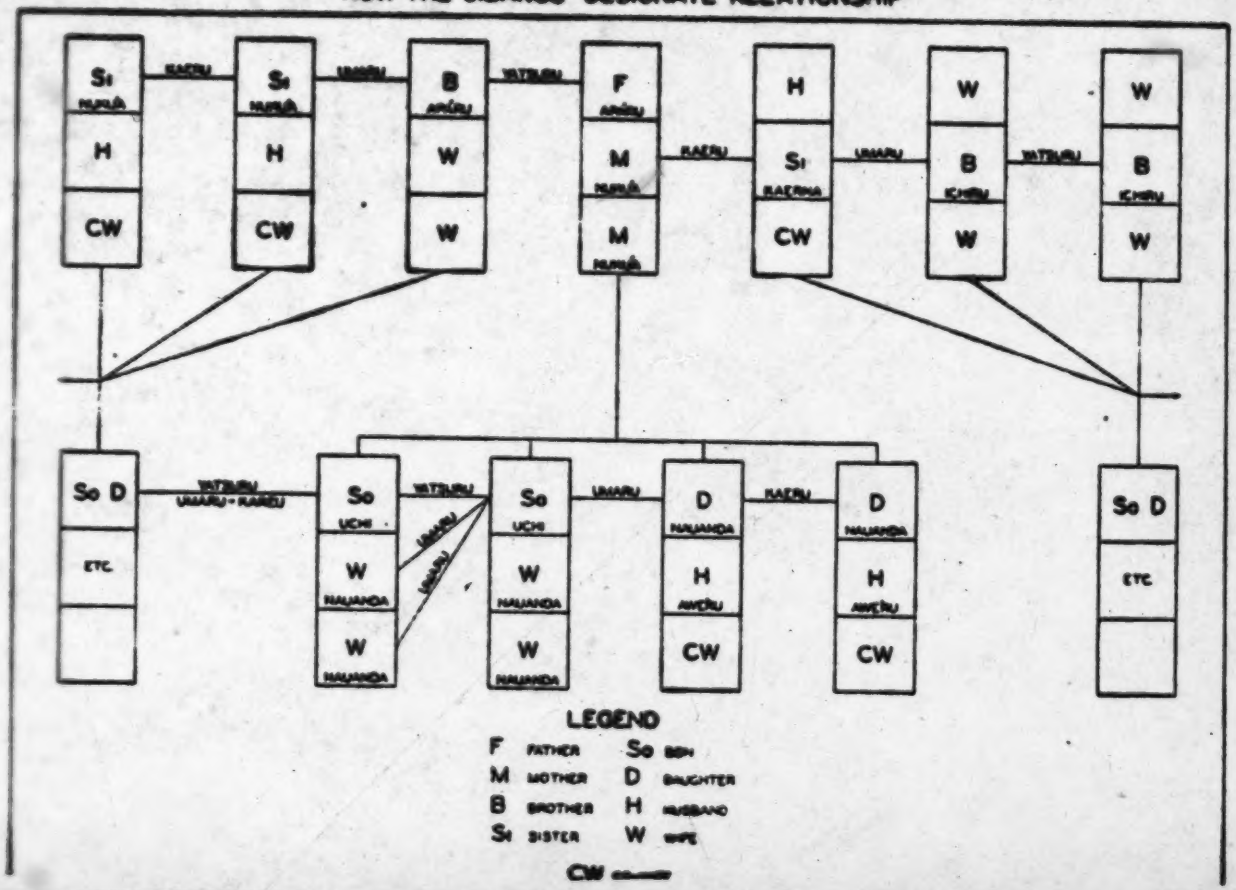
grandfather	pọwa
grandmother	nukuri
grandson	tirangiru
granddaughter	
nephew	aowitiru
niece	aowir

31: Danielsson--93
116, 601

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro

HOW THE JIBAROS DESIGNATE RELATIONSHIP



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centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters are reputed to get along better with one another. A man normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ičí*) eventually will give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

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595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing [591] wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's parents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usually the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pottery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

582 The only kinswoman with whom marriage is formally • [601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (*wahe*) from either parent's side [591] of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 With the normatively unrestricted practice of polygyny 582 creating a high demand for unattached women throughout [595] interior Jívaro society, the preference for cross-cousin marriage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few [591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among kinsmen thus arise between brothers over the question of

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wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iči* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*wahe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

> Tukupī and Ašaŋā are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupī had an unmarried sister, Nampirā. Ašaŋā asked Tukupī for her (the father of Tukupī and Nampirā was dead). Tukupī gave her to Ašaŋā, and Ašaŋā and Nampirā became husband and wife. But then Ašaŋā did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupī. Also Ašaŋā frequently beat Nampirā when he got drunk.
>
> So Tukupī went to the house of Ašaŋā. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."
>
> They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupī left. Thereafter, whenever they

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membership in some sort of corporate unit, as is commonly found in unilineal descent societies. The Jívaro thus possess the most insecure of the basic types of kinship systems, and lack clearly defined descent groups which can protect their members from outside enemies and which can settle disputes among relatives.

The Jívaro version of the kindred seems even more insecure than most for the individual, for in disputes any serious reckoning of kinship is a source of considerable confusion, involving disagreements over degree of relatedness, even in the case of a single person. In any serious discussion of kin obligations among the Jívaro, all single-word, or elementary, kin terms of reference have added to them the modifier "true" (*nekás*) or "branch" (*kaná*) to pin down degrees of relationship (see Table 1 and Figure 2 for the elementary kinship terms). In the case of any specific relative, these modifying terms can often be substituted for one another, depending upon the degree of closeness of relationship which the speaker wishes to recognize in a given situation. The only kin always defined as "true" relatives are a person's biological grandparents, parents, siblings, children, cross-cousins, and fathers of his cross-cousins. The only relatives who are always assigned to the "branch" category are affinal kin who, prior to marrying, were not considered by *ego* to be relatives of any degree. Since definition of degree of kinship is thus commonly manipulated at will, a person is often uncertain as to how his relatives will define their obligations and rights in any given dispute. The use of these "true" and "branch" modifiers almost doubles the varieties of relationship distinguished, so that many of the relatives in the kindred are unlikely to be defined as precisely the same, even by two siblings, in any particular crisis.

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TABLE I

KINSHIP: ELEMENTARY TERMS OF REFERENCE AND TERMS OF ADDRESS

Key to abbreviations

Br	brother	Gs	grandson
Da	daughter	Hu	husband
Fa	father	Mo	mother
Gc	grandchild	Si	sister
Gd	granddaughter	So	son
Gp	grandparent	Wi	wife

The abbreviations also represent the possessive form; thus, MoBrDaSo is mother's brother's daughter's son.

O a formerly more common term
N a recently innovated term
A a term recently borrowed from the Achuara

MALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

FaFa, MoFa *apači* also GpBr (*apači* O; *apáčiru* O; *apačiči* N)

FaMo, MoMo *nukuči* also GpSi (*nukučí* O; *nukučiči* N)

Fa, FaBr, MoSiHu *apa* (*apawa; apači; apawači; apa* N A)

Mo, MoSi, MoBrWi, FaSi, FaBrWi *nuku* (*nukuači; nukuá*); if *ego* marries a daughter of MoBrWi, FaSi, or FaBrWi, *tsatsa* (*nukuá*) is substituted for *nuku* with regard to the bride's mother.

FaSiHu, MoBr, WiFa *iči* (*iči*)

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *yači yatsuči*—younger to older brother; *umpá*—older to younger)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *umaí* (*makú; umači* N; *umaimi* O; *umáčiru*)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu, WiBr *sai* (*saikma*)

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BrWi, FaSiDa, FaBrSoWi, MoBrDa, MoSiSoWi *wabe* (*umači*) 601

So, BrSo, FaBrSoSo, FaSiDaSo, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, MoSiSoSo, MoBrDaSo, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *uči* (*umpá; sukí* O; *aišmaŋči* O; *aišmaŋá* O; *aišmaŋru* O)

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, SiSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makuči*)

DaHu, BrDaHu, SiSo, FaBrDaSo, FaSiSoSo, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiDaSo, MoBrSoSo, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu *awe* (*aweči; awetá*)

SoWi, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *awe* (*aweči; awetá*)

Gs, Gd, Gc *tiraŋi* (*tiraŋi; tiraŋči*)

Wi *ekentu; nua* (*ekenturu* O). First wife: *tarimta*. Second wife: *učič nua*. Third wife: *yamai nuatčmu*.

FEMALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

Terms are the same as for male speaking, except for the following:

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *umai* (*umači* N; *umaimi* O; *umaimiči* O; *umáčiru*)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *kai* (*kaičiru, kaiči*—younger to older sister; *makú*—older to younger)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu *wabe* (*umači*)

BrWi, FaSiDa, FaBrSoWi, MoBrDa, MoSiSoWi *yua* (*yuači; yuamči; yuačiru*)

So, BrSo, FaBrSoSo, FaSiDaSo, MoSiSoSo, MoBrDaSo, SiSo, FaBrDaSo, FaSiSoSo, MoSiDaSo, MoBrSoSo *uči* (*aešmaŋá; áešmaŋru*)

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• 601 DaHu, BrDaHu, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *awe* N (*aweči* N; *awetá* N; *antepá* O) *Awe* has replaced *antepá*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makuči*)

SoWi, SiSoWi, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nahatí* O(*naháturu* O; *makú; aweči* N; *awetá* N) *Nahatí* is beginning to be replaced by *awe*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Hu *aeš* (*áeširu*)

Co-wives are normally referred to by the *kai* term.

602 578 601 The utilization of these "true" and "branch" modifiers may be somewhat clarified by a few examples. According to the kinship rules, *ego* is expected to side with a true relative in a dispute with a branch relative of the same elementary category. However, *ego* must often decide at the time which of the two disputants is the "true" one and therefore deserving of his aid. No matter whose side *ego* decides to join, the abandoned party may be expected to accuse him of not living up to his kinship obligations. If *ego* does not join either party in the dispute, then both tend to level that accusation at him.

Similarly, another relative may manipulate the terminology when *ego* requests help from him. *Ego* may request aid from a parallel cousin, for example, saying, "You are my true 'brother' (*nekás yači*) and therefore you must help me in my dispute against this man who is only your branch 'brother-in-law' (*kaná sai*)." If the parallel cousin does not wish to accede to the request, he replies, "I wish I could help you, but

/text continues on p. 103/

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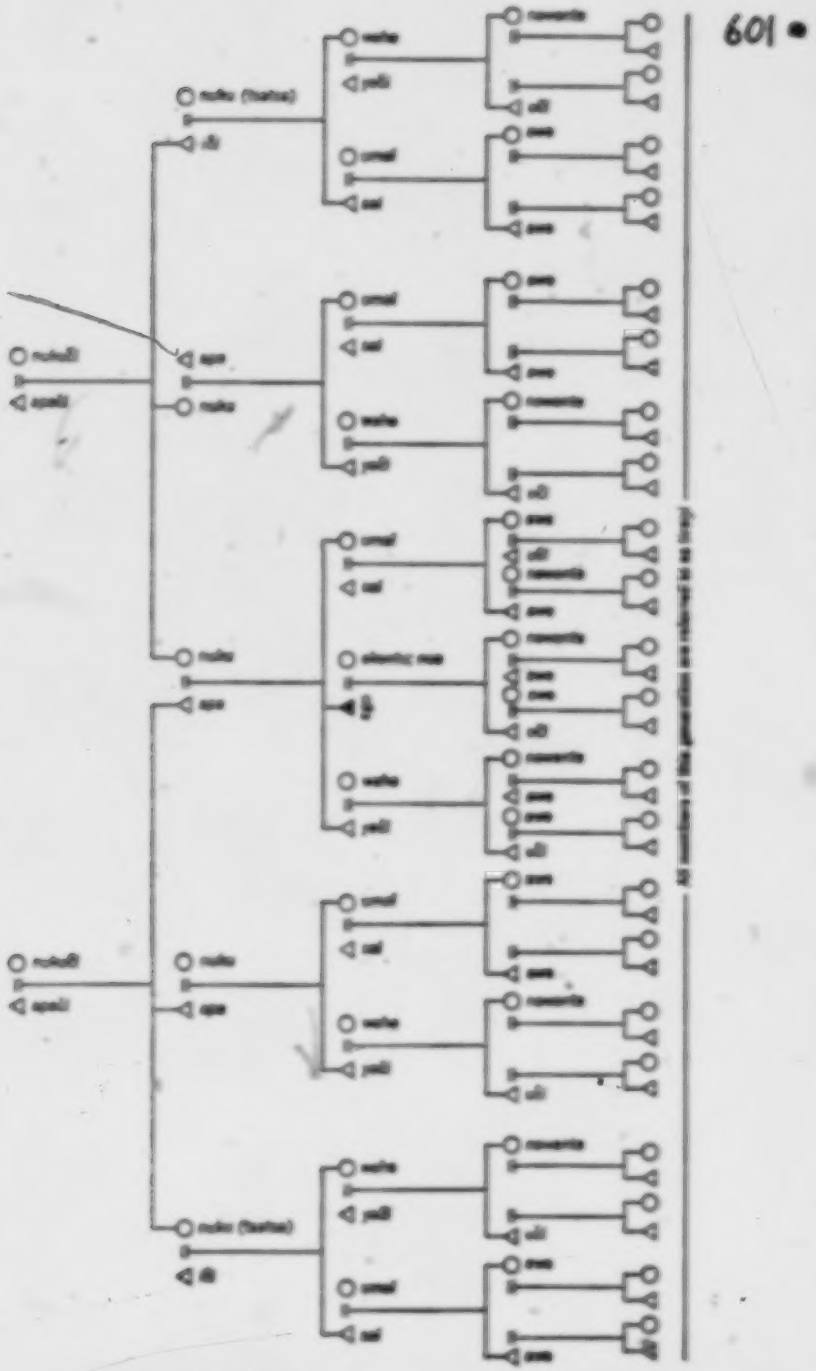

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you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kanú yachi*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true-branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

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FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amići*) between people in general, in preference to kinship
• [601] terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to
[572] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obligation; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person
[576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these
[571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of
[572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of
[431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts.
[753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.